

The University of Chicago

A CRITICAL
EDITION OF GEORGES DE SCUDERY'S
L'AMOUR TYRANNIQUE

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES
1936

By
VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN FARINHOLT

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INTRODUCTION

1. Life of Scudéry

The laurel-chewing, swashbuckling Georges de Scudéry,¹ author of l'Amour tyrannique, came from a military family of Provence. His father, Georges, served under the seigneur de Brancas-Villars, who, upon becoming governor of Havre, named the southerner as his "lieutenant de roi." In Normandy, the newly appointed officer married Magdeleine Goustimesnil-Boisrosé.² Their two famous children, Georges and Madeleine, were born in 1601 and 1608.³ The parents died in 1613, leaving only a legacy of debts. However, we know that Madeleine was reared by a cultured uncle;⁴ and it seems probable that Georges was also cared for by the same family. Georges claimed that he had been instructed in all of the "beaux-arts," although he admitted that he knew little Latin.⁵ He was somewhat better versed in Spanish, as was brought out in the Quarrel; and in Italian, as is shown in his translations.⁶

Little is known of his life before 1630. We do know, how-

¹The best account of the life of Scudéry is found in A. Batereau, Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker (Leipzig, 1902). For other references, see H. C. Lancaster, History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, 1929), I, 472, n. 1.

²Cf. Batereau, op. cit., p. 4, n. 2.

³Cf. V. Cousin, La Société française (Paris, 1905), II, 113, n. 2.

⁴Cf. Mlle de Scudéry, Le grand Cyrus (Paris, 1654), Vol. X, Bk. II, p. 555.

⁵Cf. "Au lecteur" of Le Prince déguisé (Paris, 1635).

⁶Les Harangues ou discours académiques de Jean Baptiste Manzini (Paris, 1640); Le Calloandre fidèle de Jean Ambroise Marini (Paris, 1658).

ever, that he served on both land and sea,¹ and finally in the regiment of the guards. About 1630 he left the regiment,² and began his literary career.³ Throughout his writings we see the influence of the soldier's life, and are inclined at times to agree with his own statement in the preface to Ligdamon, as quoted on page ii above. Between 1631 and 1644 he had sixteen plays presented "qui lui valurent, sinon toujours l'approbation du public, comme il s'en vante dans mainte préface, du moins la protection du cardinal de Richelieu."⁴ These plays included twelve tragi-comedies, one comedy, two tragedies, and one pastoral⁵ inserted in a prose comedy.

In 1637 the self-important dramatist posed as a rival of Corneille and wrote the venomous Observations sur le Cid and the Lettre de M. de Scudéry à l'illustre Académie. Delighted with the decision of the Academy as found in Les Sentimens (1637-1638), Scudéry strove to present a model play that would outshine the Cid. Thus appeared another tragi-comedy, l'Amour tyrannique (1638-1639). In 1639, he published an Apologie, a boring poem in defense of the theatre. During this period he wrote voluminously, and always submitted his work for approval to the Hôtel de Rambouillet.⁶

¹Cf. Batereau, op. cit., pp. 7-9.

²Cf. the preface to Arminius (Paris, 1643), in which he says he wrote Ligdamon (Paris, 1631) "en sortant du regiment des gardes et dans ma première jeunesse."

³Cf. the preface to Ligdamon as quoted by Batereau, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴Rathery et Boutron, Mlle de Scudéry, sa vie et sa correspondance (Paris, 1873), p. 11.

⁵In addition there are attributed to him: Lucidan ou le héraut d'armes, tragi-comédie; La Mort de Mithridate, tragédie; Annibal, tragédie. For a discussion of these, see Batereau, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

⁶Cf. Scudéry's "épître dédicatoire" of Le Vassal généreux (1632) to Mlle de Rambouillet: "Depuis que...mon cher et parfait

Madeleine joined Georges in Paris in 1639, at the latest, and the two began a collaboration which lasted until 1655.¹ Among their friends in the literary group were Chapelain, Conrart, Godeau, Pellisson, Scarron, Sarasin, besides the family of Rambouillet.² In 1643, the Marquise de Rambouillet, through Philippe de Cospéau, had Scudéry appointed Governor of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde at Marseille, a lonely keep on a windswept highland.³ This position proved to be anything but lucrative, and was a great disappointment to the dramatist. As Batereau says, "Er wollte eine Rolle spielen, Gelungenheit haben, sich auszuzeichnen und nicht im entferntesten Winkel des Königreiches bei schlechter Bezahlung seine Tage hinbringen."⁴ However, he enjoyed the title. At the same time, from 1643-1647, he is supposed to have served as "capitaine de galères."⁵

While at Marseilles he continued his literary activities. Le Cabinet de M. de Scudéry, première partie, appeared in 1646, and the Discours politiques des rois in 1647. Les Poésies diverses, which were published in 1649, were composed during this stay in the Midi. According to Tallemant (IX, 135), the position at Marseilles was finally taken away from him, "quoiqu'il ne fût comme

ami, feu M. de Chanderville, m'eust donné l'honneur d'estre connu de vostre maison, je fis voeu de ne mettre jamais rien au jour, qui n'en fust premier jugé digne dans l'hotel de Rambouillet." (Quoted by Batereau, op. cit., p. 10, n. 2.)

¹For Georges' part in the writing of Madeleine's novels, see Batereau, op. cit., pp. 29 f. Also cf. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, ed. Monmerqué (2d ed.; Paris, 1861), IX, 131-149.

²Scudéry was among those who wrote madrigals for La Guirlande de Julie.

³Tallemant (IX, 135) relates that Mme de Rambouillet remarked, "Cet homme-là n'auroit pas voulu un gouvernement dans une vallée: je m'imagine le voir sur le donjon de Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, la tête dans les nues, regarder avec mépris tout ce qui est au-dessous de lui."

⁴Op. cit., p. 17.

⁵Cf. the evidence as presented by Batereau, op. cit., p. 16.

point payé." In 1650 Scudéry applied for Vaugelas' seat in the Academy, and was elected to the long-desired position.¹ Of the next three years little is known; Scudéry led a retired life as an "homme du désert." At one time the duchesse d'Aiguillon attempted to get a priory for him, but with little success. During this time of solitude, he gave expression to his longing for a place in the sunlight, and to his great interest in politics, by composing Salomon instruisant le roy.²

At the beginning of 1654 appeared his epic, Alaric ou Rome vaincue, whose opening line was so ridiculed by Boileau.³ The epic was dedicated to Christine of Sweden, who offered him "une chaîne d'or de mille pistoles" to omit the name of the heroic Comte de la Gardie from the poem. However Scudéry refused, preferring to remain true to his friendship for the count, just as he remained loyal to the Duchesse de Longueville and to Condé during the wars of the "Fronde."⁴ From the army life Scudéry had acquired a certain "air matamore" which spoiled his good qualities. But he had a high sense of honor and loyalty, and, as Cousin says,⁵

....surtout une facilité et une fécondité peu commune, avec une présomption plus grande encore que n'éclairaient et ne soutenaient ni le jugement ni le goût. L'amour-propre et aussi le besoin le poussant à produire sans cesse, il a semé partout des signes incontestables de talent, sans jamais parvenir à rien faire de bon.

¹Cf. Tallemant, op. cit., IX, 141-142. Conrart as secretary collected "tous les compliments des réceptions. Scudéry lui envoya le sien, ou il y avoit cent fanfaronnades, et quelques jours après, il lui écrivit qu'il le prioit d'ajouter ces trois lignes en un tel endroit: 'L'Académie se peut dire à plus juste titre Porphyrogénète (né dans la pourpre) que les empereurs d'Orient, puisqu'elle est née de la pourpre des cardinaux, des rois et des chanceliers.'"

²Paris, 1651.

³Art poétique, chant III, vss. 269 f.

⁴The family of Condé fled into exile in 1653. However, the Scudérys continued to dedicate their novels to the Duchesse de Longueville.

⁵La Société française, II, 114.

In 1654, because of his declared loyalty to Condé, he was exiled to Normandy. There he met and married Mlle de Martin-vast.¹ In 1660 they returned to Paris along with Condé and his followers.² Once again he was in favor, even being presented to Louis XIV, and receiving a small pension for himself and a benefice for his little son. On May 14, 1667 the poet-dramatist died; and according to the church register of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris, he was buried on May 18, 1667.³

2. Dramatic Works

As has been noted above, Scudéry wrote sixteen plays, which he enumerates in their order of composition in the preface of Arminius, a tragi-comedy of 1643. I shall list them according to genre.⁴

Tragi-comedies

- 1) Ligdamon et Lidias ou la ressemblance, tragi-comédie. Paris: Targa, 1631 (octavo).
- 2) Le Trompeur puny, tragi-comédie. Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1633 (octavo).
- 3) Le Vassal généreux, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1636 (octavo).
- 4) Orante, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1635 (octavo).
- 5) Le Prince déguisé, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1636 (octavo).
- 6) L'Amant libéral, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1638 (quarto).
- 7) L'Amour tyrannique, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1639 (quarto).
- 8) Eudoxe, tragi-comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1641 (quarto).

¹Cf. the gossip account of Tallemant (IX, 137); the Frères Parfaict, Histoire du théâtre françois (Paris, 1734-49), IV, 437; Rathery et Boutron, op. cit., p. 44, n. 3.

²Cf. Lettres de Chapelain, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1880), II, 41, note.

³Cf. Batereau, op. cit., p. 28.

⁴In the appendix will be found a concise description of each play, based for the most part on the studies of Batereau and Lancaster. A bibliography of the various editions of the plays is given by Georges Mongrédien, "Bibliographie des oeuvres de Georges et de Madeleine de Scudéry," RHL, XL (1933), 225-235.

- 9) Andromire, tragi-comédie. Paris: Somnaville, 1641 (quarto).
- 10) Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa, tragi-comédie. Paris: Nicolas de Sercy, 1643 (quarto).
- 11) Axiane, tragi-comédie en prose. Paris: Nicolas de Sercy, 1644 (quarto).
- 12) Arminius ou les Freres ennemis, tragi-comédie. Paris: Toussaint Quinet et Nicolas de Sercy, 1643 (quarto).

Comedies

- 1) Le Fils supposé, comédie. Paris: Courbé, 1636 (quarto).
- 2) La Comédie des comédiens. Paris: Courbé, 1635 (octavo).

Tragedies

- 1) La Mort de Caesar, tragédie. Paris: Courbé, 1636 (quarto).
- 2) Didon, tragédie. Paris: Courbé, 1637 (quarto).

Of the twelve tragi-comedies, six are based wholly or partly on the Astrée;¹ five draw inspiration from other novels;² and two from Tacitus.³ All include tragic incidents, yet end happily. Only one, le Trompeur puny, includes comic elements. Before l'Amant libéral all of the plays utterly disregarded the unities,⁴ and generally the "bienséances." Beginning with this play, Scudéry attempted to follow the unities as he understood them. La Mort de César had been very popular, but when the irregular tragedy Didon proved a failure in 1637,⁵ Scudéry realized that his talent lay not in tragedy but rather in the more melo-dramatic tragi-comedy.

A multiplex stage setting was needed for all of the plays.

¹Ligdamon, le Trompeur puny, le Vassal généreux, Orante, le Prince déguisé, Eudoxe. See the appendix.

²Le Trompeur puny, le Prince déguisé, l'Amant libéral, Ibrahim, Axiane.

³L'Amour tyrannique, Arminius.

⁴For a study of Scudéry's use of the unities, see Batereau, op. cit., pp. 170-183.

⁵This reversion from the regularity of La Mort de César to the irregularity of Didon agrees with Lancaster's theory of the introduction of the unities (op. cit., I, 373 f.). The dramatists were experimenting with the rules. Concerning the date, see Lancaster, op. cit., II, 47.

Two of the early elaborate type, which Sarasin might have compared to the "cartes de géographie," are described by Mahelot.¹ The setting evidently became much less complicated as Scudéry fell in line with the tendency towards unity of place, but even so it is far from being the simple "palais à volonté" of the classical drama.²

All of the plays, with the exception of Axiane and the Comédie des comédiens, are written in rimed couplets of Alexandrines. However, the versification is varied by thirteen instances of "stances,"³ two sonnets,⁴ one prayer,⁵ one challenge,⁶ and five letters,⁷ in different lyrical metres.

Scudéry boasted of the perfection and the success of his plays; but their days were numbered, although provincial companies continued to present them for a number of years. Poison mentions seven of them in a repertory included in his play of 1662, le Baron de la Grasse:⁸

Le Comédien

Non, nous n'avons qu'Eudoxe, et l'Hospital des Fous,

¹Ligdamon and le Trompeur puny in the Mémoire de Mahelot, ed. Lancaster (Paris, 1920), pp. 68-70.

²Cf. the frontispiece of l'Amour tyrannique, which is supposed to represent the stage setting.

³Le Trompeur puny, II, 3 and V, 1; le Vassal généreux I, 1 and IV, 2; Orante I, 5 and II, 2; le Prince déguisé II, 5; l'Amour tyrannique IV, 2 and V, 1; le Fils supposé II, 1; III, 1; IV, 6 and V, 1.

⁴Le Trompeur puny III, 6; Orante I, 1.

⁵Le Vassal généreux V, 1.

⁶Orante V, 1.

⁷Le Vassal généreux I, 1; Orante II, 3, 8, and III, 2; l'Amour tyrannique V, 4. In addition there is a letter in prose in le Trompeur puny.

⁸Cf. V. Fournel, Les Contemporains de Molière (Paris, 1863), I, 424-425. Cf. Lancaster, "A French Provincial Repertory in 1662," MLN, XXVIII (1913), 236-237.

Messieurs, le Dom Quichot, l'illusion Comique, Argenis, Ibrahim et l'Amour tyrannique, La Belle Esclave, Orphée, Esther, Alcimédon, Gustaphe, Sanche-Panse, Erigone, Didon, Alcionée, Osman, les Captifs, Zenobie, Le Prince Déguisé, Clorise, la Silvie, Sophonisbe, Andromire, Agis, Coriolan, Cléopatre, Quixaire, Eurimédon, Séjan, L'Inconstance d'Hylas, Clarimonde, Penthée, Téléphonte, Arbiran, Laure persécutée, L'Aveugle clairvoyant, Mirame, Darius, Le Prince fugitif, Roxane, Arminius, Roland le Furieux, Palène, Mithridate, Dom Sanche d'Aragon, Méliete, Tyridate

The list cites more plays by Scudéry than by any other author. Regardless of their success in the provinces, only three of the sixteen were republished after 1650:¹ Orante, 1659; la Mort de César, 1652, 1658; l'Amour tyrannique, 1737,² 1780. Of these only l'Amour tyrannique was republished in the eighteenth century.

3. "Raison d'être" of l'Amour tyrannique

L'Amour tyrannique was not just another tragi-comedy. It was written with the express purpose of showing Corneille how to write a play, and its jealous author fully expected it to surpass the Cid. His intention is readily understood from a study of the play and its connection with the Quarrel of the Cid.³ When Richelieu said that Scudéry must never reply to any malicious criticism made of l'Amour tyrannique, Sarasin understood the Cardinal's command as extravagant praise. However, it seems more probable that Richelieu was merely putting a definite end to the literary battles of the Quarrel of the Cid.

¹Cf. Mongrédien, RHL, XL (1933), 225-235.

²Mongrédien omits this edition. He lists four editions of a Dutch translation of l'Amour tyrannique, which appeared in 1663, 1671, 1701, 1746.

³Cf. A. Gasté, La Querelle du Cid (Paris, 1888); Hunger, Der Cidstreit in chronologischer Ordnung (Leipzig, 1891); Lettres de Chapelain, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1880), 2 vols. In addition there are studies by Lormier, Taschereau, Marty-Laveaux, Chardon, and Roy.

A. The Quarrel of the "Cid".--Corneille published the Cid in 1637,¹ thus allowing the critics to examine the play in detail. Though there had been criticism for some time,² the Quarrel was actually provoked by the appearance of Corneille's egotistical Excuse à Ariste.³ This document, together with the success of the Cid, so irritated the "Grand Scudéry," that he immediately sharpened his pens with a rapier, and wrote the Observations sur le Cid.⁴ He attacked the Cid on the basis of five points:

Que le Sujet n'en vaut rien du tout,
 Qu'il choque les principales regles du Poeme Dramatique,
 Qu'il manque de jugement en sa conduite,
 Qu'il a beaucoup de meschans vers,
 Que presque tout ce qu'on a de beautez sont derrobées,
 Et ainsi l'estime qu'on en fait est injuste.⁵

He insisted that the "bienséances" had not been observed; too many events were crowded into twenty-four hours; the unity of place had not been maintained; many of the events were improbable; three of the characters were superfluous; the king had not been treated with proper respect; a bloody sword had been displayed on the stage; the play was poorly constructed, and was practically a translation from Guillén de Castro.

Corneille scornfully replied in the ironical Lettre apologitique,⁶ in which he did not deign to answer Scudéry's charges, but reminded him of the enormous success of the Cid. Pamphlets appeared on both sides, a few signed, but many of them anonymous.

¹Cf. Lancaster, French Dramatic Literature, II, 118.

²Cf. Collas, Jean Chapelain (Paris, 1912), p. 134: "dans l'entourage de Richelieu on n'avait pas attendu l'Excuse à Ariste pour commencer une guerre sourde contre Corneille."

³Cf. Gasté, op. cit., pp. 63-66.

⁴Cf. ibid., pp. 147-151.

⁵Ibid., p. 73.

⁶Cf. ibid., pp. 147-151.

Criticisms, based at first on Aristotle, Heinsius, and Scaliger, waxed more heated, until insults were bandied about freely. Finally in May, Scudéry appealed to the Academy to judge whether or not his attack upon the play had been justified. Richelieu, seeing that the quarrel was becoming quite serious, seized upon this opportunity to have his youthful Academy judge the play of a well-known author. Work upon the Dictionary was stopped with the letter A, and the Academy took up its new task of literary criticism. The result was the Sentimens de l'Académie françoise sur la Tragédie du Cid,¹ which Lanson characterizes as "une oeuvre de critique étroite, chicanière, sans vues générales ni élévation d'esprit."²

B. The jealousy theory.--For years scholars have disagreed regarding the reasons why Richelieu had the play judged. Pellisson³ in 1652 was the first to say Richelieu had been jealous of Corneille.⁴ Tallemant des Réaux concurred with this statement in 1657.⁵ Charles Sorel in 1664⁶ said that because of his jealousy of Corneille, Richelieu was glad to use Scudéry's play to oppose the Cid. This theory of jealousy was accepted through the centuries until Charles Livet,⁷ in 1895, claimed that Richelieu had

¹Gasté, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-417. In addition see the edition by G. Collas (Paris, 1912); and that of C. Searles (Minneapolis, 1916).

²Histoire de la littérature française (20th ed.; Paris, 1926), p. 424.

³Pellisson et d'Olivet, Histoire de l'Académie française, ed. Livet (Paris, 1858), I, 86-87.

⁴I discussed the origin and development of this theory at some length in an unpublished Master's thesis at the University of Chicago in 1930.

⁵Historiettes, II, 206.

⁶La Bibliothèque française (Paris, 1664), pp. 184-185.

⁷Précieux et Précieuses (4th ed.; Paris, 1895), pp. 228-229.

no personal interest in the quarrel; he merely desired to "forcer l'Académie à se montrer en public."

Among later critics¹ Picot holds to the jealousy theory; Battifol refuses to accept it;² Searles can discern no personal feeling against Corneille. Collas thinks that Richelieu was unfavorable to Corneille, but wanted the Cid condemned because of its irregularity. Lancaster does not agree with Collas, but still fails to see any proof of Richelieu's hostility to the Cid. Bray³ in a review of Lancaster's French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, "Period of Corneille," says,

Dans la question, toujours débattue, du rôle de Richelieu dans la Querelle du Cid, j'avoue que je ne suis pas plus convaincu par cette nouvelle démonstration de l'innocence de Richelieu (cf. 136-137) que je ne l'avais été précédemment par celle de M. Battifol: les textes me paraissent démontrer que Richelieu a désiré la condamnation de la pièce, non pas, je le crois, par raison politique ou personnelle, mais parce qu'il a pris le parti des "doctes," ce qui n'implique pas non plus qu'il n'ait pas du tout apprécié le Cid.

It is practically impossible for us to determine the truth of the matter. Whether because of personal jealousy, or because he was on the side of the "doctes," or because he wished the new Academy to prove its skill in literary criticism, the fact remains, Richelieu allowed the Cid to be harshly judged.

C. Scudéry as a rival dramatist.--Scudéry in his Observations sur le Cid had attacked the play from the viewpoint of a self-confident critic. During the Quarrel it was intimated that Scudéry not only considered himself a competent critic, but also an excellent dramatist. He seemed to consider his own Amant

¹For a discussion of recent theories on the subject, see Lancaster, French Dramatic Literature, II, 135-138.

²Cf. "Richelieu a-t-il persécuté Corneille?", RDM (April 1, 1923), pp. 626-627.

³RHL, XL (1933), 126-127.

libéral equal to or better than the Cid. Corneille, in his Lettre apologitique,¹ said to Scudéry: "Il n'est pas question de sçavoir de combien vous estes noble ou plus vaillant que moy, pour juger de combien le Cid est meilleur que l'Amant liberal." La Voix publique à Monsieur de Scudéry² remonstrated:

....laissés à l'Autheur du Cid la libre jouissance de l'estime dont tout le monde l'a jugé digne, et ne vous engagez point à faire comparaison d'une Didon avec une Medée, et d'un Cid, avec un Amant libéral; les bons Esprits cognoissent assez le merite des uns et des autres sans ayde de vos observations.

L'Inconnu et veritable amy de Messieurs de Scudéry et Corneille,³ after discussing the merits of Scudéry's plays, replied to the Voix publique:

....il me semble qu'il ne fera jamais de honte au Cid de marcher paire à paire avec luy, non pas mesme quand il prendra la droicte....et tel trouvera l'Amant libéral à son gout, qui ne donnera pas apres sa voix au Cid, et ainsi du contraire.

Though l'Amant libéral received considerable praise from this "inconnu et veritable amy," it was not really very popular. Scudéry himself admits in the preface to Arminius, that the earlier play "ne fut que mediocrement louee." But if one play did not attain the success of the Cid, perhaps another would.

In 1637 appeared a pamphlet entitled l'Amy du Cid, à Claveret,⁴ in which a suggestion was made that Scudéry write a better play than the Cid:

Il ne seroit pas juste, et croyez-vous M^r Claveret estre assez habile homme pour l'emporter sur tous les plus grands esprits de France qui se moquent des observations, et de ceux qui suivent les sentimens de leur Autheur. Pour moy j'ai desja respondu pour luy comme je fais encores, que pour obscurir son esclat, il faloit pour toutes observations faire une meilleure piece.⁵

¹Gasté, op. cit., p. 147.

²Ibid., p. 153.

³Ibid., p. 155.

⁴Paris, 1637, octavo, of eight pages. Reprinted by Gasté, op. cit., pp. 193-196.

⁵Gasté, op. cit., p. 193. The italics are mine.

In July, 1637, Mairet published a Responce à l'Amy du Cid sur ses invectives contre le sieur Claveret¹ as part of his Epistre familiere. He saw no reason why Scudéry should write a new play to rival the Cid, since in his opinion any Scudéry play during the past four years had been better than the Cid.²

D. Comparison of "l'Amour tyrannique" with the "Cid."--However, Scudéry acted upon the suggestion of l'Amy du Cid, and wrote his tragi-comedy l'Amour tyrannique, which was published in 1639, but was probably acted in the latter part of 1638. In the second edition appeared Sarasin's Discours de la tragédie, which sought to prove the perfection of Scudéry's play by the very outline which Scudéry had used in condemning the Cid.

Charles Sorel³ in 1664 was the first critic to say that Scudéry wrote l'Amour tyrannique in order to rival the Cid:

D'un autre costé M. de Scudéry piqué d'une belle et noble emulation, monstra qu'il ne sçavoit pas seulement reprendre les autres, mais qu'il sçavoit comment il falloit faire ces ouvrages capables d'égaler les plus relevez, et d'en surpasser beaucoup d'autres. Il fit iouer l'Amour tyrannique qui eut le bonheur d'agrée au Cardinal de Richelieu....on peut conjecturer, que de mesme il [Richelieu] estoit ravy qu'il se trouvast quelque belle Piece pour luy [Corneille] opposer, comme cette derniere de M. de Scudéry.

In 1775 the Frères Parfaict⁴ repeated the story in discussing l'Amour tyrannique. Fontenelle made the story even better by

¹Gasté, op. cit., pp. 296-305.

²Ibid., pp. 301-302: "Vous dites en suite que les observations ne valent rien, et que les beaux esprits s'en sont moquez.Vous respondes pour luy, que pour obscurir l'esclat de son ouvrage, il falloit pour toutes observations faire une meilleure piece, et moy je vous respons pour M. de Scudery, qu'il n'en a point fait depuis quatre ans, que je n'estime plus que le Cid, laissant à part ce grand bruit, qui souventesfois est plustost un tesmoignage du bon-heur des pieces publiques que de leur valeur."

³Bibliothèque françoise (Paris, 1664), pp. 184-185.

⁴Histoire du théâtre françois, V, 456-457.

adding: "Sarasin, par ordre de ce ministre [Richelieu], fit une mauvaise préface, dans laquelle il louait Hardy, sans oser nommer Corneille."¹ In the nineteenth century Livet summed up the situation in the following terms:²

pour étouffer le succès du Cid, il ne fallait pas se mettre à côté pour le harceler, ni attirer l'attention par le bruit même des coups portés; il fallait se mettre au-dessus et le dominer; c'est ce qu'essaya de faire Scudéry; et il donna, dans l'intention visible de continuer le combat avec d'autres armes, son Amour tyrannique.

The new play has many points in common with its rival.

Both are tragi-comedies; both were performed in the Palais-Cardinal; both are dedicated to Richelieu's niece; both were submitted to the Academy for judgment. Professor Lancaster has noted a number of parallels:³

As he found eleven speaking rôles in the Cid, he put the same number into his own play, adding to them two "troupes." As his predecessor had depicted a noble old man, a brute, a young hero, two heroines, four subordinate male characters, and two confidentes, he allowed himself corresponding characters..... He created for these persons dramatic conflicts between love and "nature" in the sense of blood relationship, and he had reports brought in of battle and murder. But he was resolved to improve upon the Cid by setting his stage in such a way that there could be no doubt as to the location of the action, by leaving no room for the criticism that one of his leading persons was unconnected with the plot, and by allowing no untoward event to interfere with the triumph of the good and the repentance of the wicked. Noble Tigrane would save his own honor and his wife's by trying to kill her, but Scudéry would save him from crime and her from death by intervening in her behalf. The villain would threaten to kill his father-in-law, but his threat would be only a bluff.

Corneille twice introduced "stances"; Scudéry did the same. Though he had criticized Corneille for allowing Rodrigue to appear on the stage with a bloody sword, he had Tigrane appear with a

¹B. de Fontenelle, "Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Corneille," published in Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire, ed. L. Moland (Paris, 1880), XXXII, 370.

²Précieux et Précieuses, 4th ed. (Paris, 1895), p. 230.

³French Dramatic Literature, II, 229.

dripping poignard.¹ Scudéry had criticized Corneille for failing to respect the sacred rights of a king.² In l'Amour tyrannique he stresses not only absolute power as Corneille had done, but lays special emphasis on the theory of "the divine right of kings." The Academy had accused Chimène of betraying "ses obligations naturelles, en faveur de sa passion."³ Scudéry himself in the Observations,⁴ says of Corneille "il foule aux pieds les sentimens de la Nature, et les preceptes de la Morale." The conflict in l'Amour tyrannique is therefore between nature (blood relationship) and love. Scudéry's plan was that nature, aided by "la raison," should always conquer passion. It is clear, therefore, that Scudéry had the Cid in mind when he planned each move of his new play.

E. The implications in Sarasin's "Discours de la tragédie."

--In his Discours Sarasin⁵ attempts to prove the excellence of Scudéry's play. He says that he will submit the play to the test

¹Cf. vs. 751, the accompanying stage directions, and the footnote to the same.

²Cf. Observations (Gasté, op. cit.), p. 93. See also my discussion of the political ideas in the play.

³Sentimens (Gasté, op. cit.), p. 373.

⁴Gasté, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵Jean-François Sarasin (1614-1654). The best account of his life and works is found in Festugière, OEuvres de J.-Fr. Sarasin (Paris, 1926), I, 1-98. An excellent bibliography is found in I, 99-108. Sarasin was a friend of Mme de Rambouillet, Ninon de Len-clos, Scarron, Charleval, Mlle de Scudéry, Chapelain, Conrart, Ménage, and others. Like Georges de Scudéry he paid court to the family of Condé, and adored the Duchesse de Longueville. He was interested in drama, but stayed out of the immediate Cid quarrel, coming in at the end, not to attack Corneille, but to ignore him and praise to the skies the play of his adversary. Les Frères Parfaict (V, 457, note A) state that it was not difficult to divine why Sarasin was chosen to praise l'Amour tyrannique. "M. Sarrazin étoit regardé comme un des beaux esprits du siècle, & ses décisions avoient d'autant plus de poids, que n'ayant point travaillé pour le Théâtre, elles ne doivent pas être suspectes de jalousie."

of Aristotle's rules of tragedy, in order to

iuger si l'ouvrage de Monsieur de Scudéry peut exciter ces emotions violentes qui preparent les esprits à la vertu & aux disciplines, & s'il a ce degré de perfection que nous souhaittons aux excellentes tragedies.¹

Scudéry had resented the fact that the Cid was regarded as a good play because it pleased the people, and in spite of the fact that it failed to uphold "les bonnes moeurs" which would lead its auditors to the acquisition of virtue:

....il faut savoir que le Poeme de Théâtre fut inventé, pour instruire en divertissant.....Aussi ne manque t'elle jamais de nous monstrier sur la Scene, la vertu recompensée, et le vice tousjours puni."²

The question of the true objectives of poetry had been a matter for discussion through the centuries. The idea of a moral objective came from the literature of allegory of the Middle Ages, and was given new significance in seventeenth century France by the imitators of Tasso.³ In France the argument dealt with the question of ethical katharsis as variously interpreted from Aristotle's definition of tragedy. Among the partisans of "la poésie utilitaire"⁴ were Hardy, Racan, Godeau, le P. Hercule, Desmaretz, Balzac, du Ryer, Mairet, Scudéry,⁵ the author of the Discours à Cliton, Sarasin, and others. The Academy, after discussing the question raised by Scudéry, decided that pleasure within reason is the instrument of virtue, and therefore the two are in accord. "Nous pouvons dire tous ensemble qu'une Piece de theatre est bonne quand

¹Discours, p. 68.

²Observations, ed. Gasté, pp. 79-80.

³Cf. R. Bray, La Formation de la doctrine classique en France (Paris, 1927), pp. 63-84; Ch. Arnaud, Théories dramatiques au XVII^e siècle (Paris, 1888), pp. 189-197.

⁴For exact references to prefaces and essays by these authors, see Bray, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵His Apologie du théâtre (1639) was written for the purpose of demonstrating the utility of drama.

elle produit un contentement raisonnable."¹ However, Scudéry, still angry at the success of the "immoral" Cid, again stressed the theory of the usefulness of tragedy in his Response....à Monsieur de Balzac, published in 1638.²

Sarasin, according to M. Bray,³ was so impressed by the error of Castelvetro -- who had claimed that drama should please the people⁴-- and by his own love for Aristotle, that he wished to prove that "contrairement à l'opinion commune, le Philosophe ne concevait pas la poésie sans l'enseignement." However, I am inclined to think that Sarasin's principal inspiration here was neither Castelvetro nor Aristotle, but Scudéry who was so vehemently opposing a non-utilitarian objective for drama.⁵ Since the Academy had censured Scudéry for not following Aristotle in the order in which he discussed tragedy,⁶ Sarasin was careful to take

¹Sentimens, ed. Gasté, p. 359.

²Gasté, op. cit., p. 461: "Et veritablement, si le Theatre n'avoit autre objet que celui de plaire au peuple sans l'instruire, Aristophane l'emporteroit sur Euripide et Plaute seroit au dessus de Seneque....[even comedy] ne laisse pas de servir aux moeurs, et d'enseigner en divertissant."

³Formation de la doctrine classique, p. 67.

⁴Poetica d'Aristotele Vulgarizzata (2d. ed.; Basilea: Pietro de Sedabonis, 1576), pp. 9 and 268.

⁵Sarasin's emphatic statements (Discours, p. 68) far from concluded the matter. In the Epître of the Suite du Menteur (OEuvres, ed. Marty-Laveaux, IV, 280 f.), Corneille states, "Pour moi, j'estime extrêmement ceux qui mêlent l'utile au délectable.... Mais je dénie qu'ils faillent contre les règles, lorsqu'ils ne l'y mêlent pas....Pourvu qu'ils aient trouvé le moyen de plaire, ils sont quittes envers leur art." In the first Discours (OEuvres, I, 20-21) Corneille says, "La vertu se fait toujours aimer quoique malheureuse, le vice toujours haïr bien que triomphant....C'est cet intérêt qu'on aime à prendre pour les vertueux qui a obligé d'en venir à cette autre manière de finir le poème dramatique par la punition des mauvaises actions et la récompense des bonnes, qui n'est pas un précepte de l'art, mais un usage que nous avons embrassé, dont chacun peut se départir à ses périls."

⁶Sentimens, ed. Gasté, pp. 361-362: "Il faut avouer que d'abord nous nous sommes étonnés que l'Observateur, ayant entre-

the suggestion. However, he modeled his discussion not directly on Aristotle, but on the interpretation given by Heinsius¹ in his De Tragoediae constitutione.² Since Mairet had openly sided with Scudéry during the Quarrel, Sarasin in his Discours (page 72) praised Mairet's Silvanire and Sophonisbe. He made no mention of Corneille.

At the end of the Discours (page 112) Sarasin states that Richelieu had been extremely pleased with l'Amour tyrannique, and had said, "Que l'Amour tyrannique estoit vn ouurage qui n'auoit besoin d'apologie; et qui se deffendoit assez de soy mesme." Sarasin understood this to mean extravagant praise of the play, with protection for its author. Today we agree with Livet³ that

pris de convaincre cette Piece d'irregularité, se soit formé pour cela une méthode differente de celle que tient Aristote quand il enseigne la maniere de faire ces Poëmes Epiques et Dramatiques. Il nous a semblé qu'au lieu de l'ordre qu'il a tenu pour examiner celuy-cy il eust fait plus regulierement de considerer l'un apres l'autre, la Fable....les moeurs....les sentimens....la Diction...."

¹Arnaud, op. cit., p. 134, describes Heinsius' work as a "petit traité latin sur la tragédie, plus facile à lire que la Poétique d'Aristote, et surtout que l'énorme Somme de Scaliger." This treatise "allait devenir en France, le manuel des poètes et mériter les éloges de Scudéry, de l'Académie et de La Mesnardière." The fame of Heinsius in France began with Balzac in the quarrel concerning the former's Herodes infanticide. It lasted throughout 1636 and was still spoken of by Chapelain in 1638 (Lettres, I, 269). La Mesnardière calls Heinsius the worthy successor of Scaliger, and "le plus savant des interprètes qui ont traduit le Philosophe." Cf. La Poétique (Paris, 1639), p. 27. All of the dramatists knew and read him. Cf. Bray, op. cit., p. 47.

²Amsterdam, 1611. Arnaud, op. cit., p. 150, knew that Sarasin followed Heinsius throughout his Discours. Festugière in Oeuvres de J.-Fr. Sarasin, II, 1, note 1, makes the same statement. However, in all of the footnotes, Festugière gives references to Aristotle rather than to Heinsius. Sarasin in many cases almost translated the interpretation by Heinsius. (Cf. the footnotes in the present edition.) In going to Heinsius, Sarasin is merely following the practice of Scudéry. Cf. Scudéry's La Preuve des passages (Gasté, op. cit., pp. 219-223), in which he gives the sources of statements made in his Observations. There are ten direct references to "Heinsius, au livre de la Constitution de la Tragedie" and three to Heinsius, "traitté de la Satyre d'Horace."

³See quotation in note 1, of the present text of the Discours, page 112.

Richelieu merely wished to avoid another literary quarrel. The judgment of one play had been sufficient to bring fame to his Academy. Therefore, when Richelieu forbade a criticism of l'Amour tyrannique, the Quarrel of the Cid naturally came to an end.

4. L'Amour tyrannique Judged by Scudéry's Observations sur le Cid

In the Observations,¹ Scudéry cautions Corneille, "Connois toy toy mesme." It might have been better had Scudéry followed his own advice. In the following discussion we shall examine l'Amour tyrannique in order to discover to what extent Scudéry has followed the rules which he claimed that Corneille violated. He had attempted to prove six points against the Cid.

A. "Que le sujet n'en vaut rien du tout."--In his first charge against Corneille, Scudéry asserts that

l'invention est la principale partie, et du Poete et du Poeme
.....De sorte que le Sujet du Cid estant d'un Auteur Espagnol,
si l'invention en estoit bonne, la gloire appartiendrait à
Guillen de Castro, et non pas à son traducteur François.

Here, Scudéry has condemned his own play of 1636, l'Amant libéral, for he merely put into French verse El amante liberal of Cervantes. Moreover, "l'invention" is not "la principale partie" of l'Amour tyrannique, even though Sarasin believed that "M. de Scudéry a fait vn chef-d'oeuvre en inuentant ce merueilleux sujet."² Scudéry went to Tacitus³ for part of his plot, and to Plutarch for many of his characters, yet he never acknowledged his borrowings as Corneille did for the Cid in his Avertissement of 1648. Moreover, in the Observations, Scudéry advises Corneille, that for a tragedy "l'Argument en devant estre tiré de l'Histoire ou des fables con-

¹Gasté, op. cit., pp. 71 f.

²Discours, p. 92.

³See the section on sources.

nues....mais il n'en va pas ainsi de la Tragi-comedie."

He advises also that "Il faut que le premier Acte....embrouille une intrigue, qui tienne tousjours l'esprit en suspends, et qui ne se desmesle qu'à la fin de tout l'Ouvrage." It must be admitted that on this point Scudéry follows his own advice in l'Amour tyrannique. Act I gives the exposition of the intrigue in the first two scenes and shows the rising action in the next two. The fifth scene is a fine example of holding "l'esprit en suspends," where the audience must really wonder how the "Noeu Gordien" can be untied. Scudéry does not solve the problem until the final scene of Act V.

B. "Qu'il choque les principales regles du poëme dramatique."--Of all the rules of the drama, which he charges Corneille with violating, Scudéry considers that of vraisemblance the most important.

Il est vray que Chimene espousa le Cid, mais qu'il n'est point vray-semblable qu'une fille d'honneur, espousa le meurtrier de son Pere. Cet evenement estoit bon pour l'Historien, mais il ne valoit rien pour le Poëte.....Ce sujet ne peut estre vraisemblable.¹

Yet in spite of Scudéry's respect for this rule, there are several episodes in l'Amour tyrannique which seem far from vraisemblable:² for example, the rescue scene in Act III, 4, and the noiseless, unnoticed storming of the bastion between Acts II and III.

In discussing the unities, Scudéry says, "Pour observer celle des vint quatre heures (excellente quand elle est bien entendue) l'Auteur François bronche plus lourdement que l'Espagnol."

¹The Academy agreed with Scudéry; see Gasté, op. cit., p. 365.

²See the Discours, p. 84 and note 2, which includes comments by d'Aubignac.

L'Amour tyrannique observes the unity of time.¹ As Sarasin remarks:²

Nos Modernes, qui pour la plupart ont violé la regle....ne l'ont pas voulu faire à si bon marché que les Anciens..... Nostre Auteur qui cognoissoit l'importance de ceste maxime, l'a religieusement obseruée....il a bien employé tout le temps qu'il pouuoit prendre....tous les Critiques equitables trouueront qu'il a pû auoir quelques heures de reste, & qu'il n'a pas esté pressé.

Sarasin further discourses on past and on contemporary adherence to the rule of twenty-four hours, and recommends its use as a means of reducing the number of incidents in the plot of a tragedy, and thereby achieving a greater unity of action.³

Concerning the unity of action, Scudéry says there are too many episodes in the Cid; during the "jour bien employé...L'action du Poeme est trop grande." Sarasin says of this unity that⁴

On peut tirer vne instruction de ceste Doctrine sur le modelle de l'Amour tyrannique, & voir comme toutes les choses se rapportent à l'amour violente de Tiridate, & en dependent.... vous y trouuez exactement obseruées toutes les choses qui sont necessaires à ceste vnité d'action.

It is true that all the action results from Tiridate's tyrannical love, and that the scenes follow in logical order. Furthermore, Scudéry has been careful to link all of the scenes, though by the very apparent method of "liaison de vue."⁵

¹Scudéry calls attention to the unity of time in l'Amour tyrannique in the following verses:

"O Dieux! en quel estat me trouuray-ie en ce iour?" (vs. 319);
 "Rentrez, rentrez Madame, et ne m'empeschez pas
 D'aller voir aujourd'huy la fin de nos combats." (vss. 368-9);
 "L'Amour et la fureur, estre ensemble en ce iour." (vs. 679);
 "Mais ie croy que la mort a sauué de tes mains
 Polixene et Tigrane, en un iour si funeste." (vss. 873-4);
 "Ainsi vostre credit peut sauuer aujourd'huy
 L'honneur de vostre Maistre...." (vss. 1035-6).

²Discours, pp. 78 and 80.

³Ibid., pp. 76-81.

⁴Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁵For example: "Madame, le voicy" (I,1); "Le voilà, depeschez" (I,3); "Mais que veulent ces gens?" (I,4); "Mais gardons

Lancaster¹ says the unity of action would have been better preserved if Scudéry had made more careful preparation for the entrance of Troile in the final scene. However, it seems certain that Scudéry at least thought he was planning it carefully,² for in I,2 (vss. 165-168); II,4 (vs. 578); and III,1 (vss. 727-734) there are suggestions that help will be obtained or may be obtained from without. In IV,1 (vss. 1016-1020) the final plans are divulged. Scudéry did not expose the entire plans until then, in order to keep up the suspense.

In the Observations³ Scudéry had noted that concerning the unity of place in the Cid, "le Theatre en est si mal entendu," that no one could tell where the actors were supposed to be as they moved about in the multiplex stage setting. He himself adheres to this unity, as it was then understood, in l'Amour tyrannique.⁴ Sarasin remarks, "Il ne faut point de lieu que celui de le pointe d'un bastion de la ville d'Amasie et les Pauillons de Tiridate."⁵ He cites the disregard of Hardy and his followers for the unity of place: "Leur Theatre fut comme ces Cartes de Geographie, qui dans leur petitesse representent meantmoins toute l'estendue de la Terre."⁶ In later plays "leur Scene est bien en une ville, mais non pas en un lieu. On ne sait si les acteurs

d'estre veus de ce monde qui vient" (III,1); "Dieux, entrez, le Roy vient" (III,2); "Mais ie le voy venir, fuyons de sa presence" (IV,1).

¹French Dramatic Literature, II, 230.

²See note 2 to page 89 of the Discours.

³Gasté, op. cit., p. 95.

⁴Cf. vss. 71, 72.

⁵Discours, p. 85.

⁶Ibid., p. 86.

parlent dans les maisons ou dans les rues."¹ But since there is no "beauté qui manque à nostre Amour tyrannique, il ne seroit pas raisonnable qu'il s'y rencontrat vn seul manquement....& toutes choses s'y passent en vn mesme lieu."

Scudéry had said that in the Cid "les Personnages semblent des Dieux de machine, qui tombent du Ciel en terre." Sarasin is careful to inform us that Scudéry has used no deus ex machina in l'Amour tyrannique, and that the revirement results naturally from the action; for as a result of Troile's arrival, Tiridate recognizes his crimes. Sarasin reasonably claims that in this play "la Peripetie, & la reconnoissance tendent, & regardent vne mesme fin."² However, Batereau³ and Lancaster⁴ entirely disagree with Sarasin, for they do not believe that Troile's entrance in the final scene has been carefully planned or is expected by the audience.

C. "Qu'il manque de jugement en sa conduite."--Scudéry's third point against Corneille is that the Cid violates the rules of bienséance: "Mais ce n'est pas la seule loy qu'on voit enfreinte....il rompt une autre bien plus importante, puis qu'elle choque les bonnes moeurs." In his interpretation of the ethical katharsis,⁵ Scudéry shows his misunderstanding of one of the precepts of Aristotle, whom he so often cites. In l'Amour tyrannique, Ormene is rewarded for her long-suffering patience, and Polyxene is granted the life and love she was so willing to sacrifice for

¹Discours, see page 87, notes 1 and 2.

²Ibid., p. 92.

³Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker, p. 99.

⁴French Dramatic Literature, II, 230.

⁵See discussion above, pp. 16-17.

honor. Only the clemency of Orosmane saves Tiridate from punishment. The play ends with the moral that peace should always be preserved, and that reasonable love should always predominate over tyrannical love. "Il faut savoir que le Poeme du Theatre fut inventé pour instruire en divertissant."

Scudéry next asks Corneille whether he knows "cette autre règle qui diffend d'ensanglanter le Theatre." Rodrigue had appeared on the stage still holding the sword wet with Don Gomez's blood. Yet Scudéry introduces a similar episode in l'Amour tyrannique (III,2), where Tigrane is seen holding the dagger with which he had stabbed his wife. Showing the dagger to Cassandre, he says, "Vois que j'adore icy ce que j'ay respandu." In a marginal note Scudéry explains: "Il entend le sang de sa femme qu'il voit à son poignard." He had evidently forgotten his own objections to the Cid.

In concluding the discussion of bienséance in the Cid, Scudéry thinks that Corneille "devoit traiter avec plus de respect la personne des Roys que l'on nous apprend estre sacrée." In l'Amour tyrannique he lost no occasion to stress the importance of the divine and absolute power of kings, which greatly pleased Richelieu.¹

D. "Qu'il a beaucoup de meschans vers."--In attacking Corneille for his bad verse, Scudéry treats trivial matters as heinous crimes, and often seems as unjust to Corneille as Malherbe was to Desportes. Once again Scudéry shows himself guilty of the very faults he finds in Corneille, in one case amusingly so. He objected mainly to repetition in the Cid: "Il a mis les pauvres lauriers si communs, voyez le je vous en supplie." Scudéry evi-

¹See below, section on political ideas, p. 40.

dently did not notice his own repetition of the word objet, in its special seventeenth century meaning, for it occurs no less than twenty-three times.¹ Corneille was surely surpassed in the matter of repetition.

Scudéry himself used repetition as a dramatic device,² especially to show emotion. For example:

Acheuez, acheuez, ie vous offre mon sein. (vs. 1755)
Cedons, cedons plustost à la fureur du sort. (vs. 287)
Il s'en va, le volage, il s'en va, l'inhumain. (vs. 411)
Tourne, tourne les yeux, homme sans amitié. (vs. 471)
Donnons, donnons, Phraarte, & deuance mes pas. (vs. 559) 601)
Il n'en veut qu'à mon coeur, il n'en veut qu'à ma femme. (vs. 601)
Percez, percez ce coeur; & puis qu'il vous adore. (vs. 650)
Venez, venez à moy, quittez vos criminels. (vs. 763)
C'est luy seul que ie sui, c'est luy seul que i'adore. (vs. 985)
Donnez moy vostre amour, donnez moy vostre coeur. (vs. 979)
Va luy rendre ton coeur, va luy rendre ton ame. (vs. 950)

At times the device is very effective, as in the passage, verses 1351-1355, where "tu vis" is repeated; but often it is carried to such an excess that it becomes annoying. For instance:

Celuy dont la valeur estoit incomparable;
Celuy qui soustenoit nostre sort déplorable,
Celuy que vous aimiez, celuy qui vous aymoît;
Celuy que ie charmois, celuy qui me charmoit;
Celuy dont la vertu s'escalloit au courage; (vss. 1465-1469)

or

Perce, perce ce sein, pour qui tu fus sensible;
Iette, iette dans l'eau, ce miracle visible;
Tu n'auras plus vn bien, mais aucun ne l'aura;
L'Amour fait ta fureur, l'Amour t'excusera;
Tu sçauras te vanger, du traïstre qui t'opprime:
Tu sçauras te punir, ayant commis ce crime;
Tu seras affligé, tu seras genereux,
Va donc au bord de l'eau, te rendre malheureux. (vss. 689-696)

E. "Que presque tout ce qu'il a de beautez sont derrobées."

--Passages from the Cid and the corresponding ones from Guillén

¹Objet is found in vss. 32, 308, 370, 405, 413, 416, 421, 472, 501, 592, 606, 742, 812, 831, 875, 971, 992, 1108, 1152, 1161, 1496, 1513, 1627.

²It had been used to some extent by all of the dramatists, especially by Garnier and Hardy.

de Castro are quoted by Scudéry to show that Corneille stole many Spanish lines. Once more the critic shows himself deserving of his own censure. As will be seen in the footnotes to the text, there are striking similarities between many of Scudéry's lines and those of other authors.¹ A number of verses are even similar in wording or thought to lines of the Cid. Three of the most striking cases are the following:

L'Amour est un tyran qui n'épargne personne. (Cid, vs. 81)
L'amour est vn tyran dans les ieunes esprits. (Am.tyr., vs. 99)

Il faut venger un père et perdre une maîtresse. (Cid, vs. 303)
Quoy? faut-il perdre vn père, ou bien vne Maistresse? (Am.tyr., vs. 330)

Mais il me faut le perdre après l'avoir perdu. (Cid, vs. 923)
Il faut que ie me perds, apres auoir perdu. (Am.tyr., vs. 747)

Scudéry did not hesitate to take suggestions from the rival play.

After dissecting Corneille's play and criticizing all its parts, Scudéry asks the reader whether a play like the Cid may "legitimentement pretendre à la gloire de n'avoir point esté surpassé, que luy attribue son Autheur,² avec si peu de raison." Although his own attempt to surpass Corneille failed, nevertheless his play called forth the blind, indiscriminating approbation of Sarasin, who said that had l'Amour tyrannique existed in ancient times, Aristotle would have drawn illustrations from it rather than from OEdipus rex!³ This extravagant praise earns for l'Amour tyrannique even Scudéry's concluding censure of the Cid: "qu'ainsi l'estime qu'on en fait est injuste."

¹Cf. below, notes to vss. 1069-1074 and 1251-1258.

²Scudéry refers to lines 50-53 of L'Excuse à Ariste, lines which Corneille is said to have translated from what he, Corneille, had written to Fr. de Harlay, archbishop of Rouen, in 1633 (as quoted by Gasté, op.cit., p. 11):

"Hic nescia vinci
Nostra coronato vertice laurus ovat:
Me pauci hic fecere parem, nullusque secundum,
Nec spernenda fuit gloria pone sequi."

³Cf. Discours, p. 64.

5. Importance of Sarasin's Discours in the History of Tragi-comedy

Scudéry had presented his Observations sur le Cid to the Academy for judgment. In 1638 or 1639 Sarasin offered his observations on l'Amour tyrannique in the form of a Discours de la tragédie; and he too asked for the Academy's judgment, which in this case was refused, for reasons which we have noted.

Sarasin in treating tragedy, intended to cover the four divisions suggested by Aristotle (Poetics, VI): Plot, Character, Thought, and Diction. However, he completed only the first since he had to depart suddenly for Italy with Chavigny. He optimistically claimed that the other three divisions would be discussed by La Mesnardière in his Poétique, which was to appear shortly. Here, too, he was disappointed, for La Mesnardière published only a small part of his treatise.

The Discours de la tragédie, written in praise of a tragi-comedy, has an important place in the history of literary criticism. It is characteristic of the period in which the rules for tragedy were being applied to tragi-comedy, thus bringing the two genres so closely together that they became practically indistinguishable. It stands at the beginning of the brief period in which tragedies with a happy ending were so popular. To understand this period in the history of the theater, it will be necessary to make a brief review of the development of the theory which permitted happy endings to tragedies.

In 1543, Giraldi Cintio in his Discorso sulle comedie e sulle tragedie,¹ interpreted the last type of "recognition" mentioned by Aristotle (Poetics, XIV, 9) as permitting a happy ending

¹Ed. Daelli (Milano, 1864), p. 62.

to tragedy. Cintio cites Greek tragedies of this type and then states that Aristotle mentioned only those of the tragic type, merely because he preferred

due Ifigenie di Euripide, nel Jone, nell'Alceste e nell'Elena, ma diè solo l'esempio Aristotele nelle tragedie infelici, non perchè il nome di peripezia non convenisse anco alle altre, ma perchè guidicò egli quelle d'infelice fine migliori.

In 1570 Castelvetro based his theory for the admission of the happy ending on this same section of Aristotle's Poetics (XIV, 9).¹ However, he says Aristotle is inconsistent since he demands that a tragic plot should involve $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$. Castelvetro thinks the meaning of the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ should be enlarged to include calamity which remains a threat. Even then such a tragedy, in his opinion, could not arouse pity and fear. Yet the dramatists of his time continued to write tragedies with a happy ending in order to please the populace.²

Scaliger in the Poetices libri septem (1561) had stated that, although he greatly preferred pure comedy or pure tragedy, there were many comedies which ended unhappily for some of the characters, "Sic Miles Plauti, & Asinaria, & Persa, & aliae," as well as "laetae Tragoediae non Paucae." Among the latter were Electra, Ione, Helena, and Eumenides, "vt nequaquam sit quod hac-tenus professe sunt, Tragoediae proprium, exitus infelix: modo intus sint res atroces."³ Though Scaliger mentions the fact that such tragedies have been and are still being written, he insists that a real tragedy must have an unhappy ending. Pelletier and Laudun made it an absolute rule to end tragedy sadly. Only Vau-

¹Butler's translation of this section is found in note 4, page 106 of the Discours.

²Poetica d'Aristotele, p. 290.

³5th ed. in Bibliopolio Commeliano (1617), Bk. II, chap. xcvi.

quelin admitted a happy ending.¹

The seventeenth century began by following the rules of Scaliger. However, during the first years of the century tragi-comedy was far more popular than tragedy.² In the sixteenth century the name "tragi-comedy" had been applied to any play of medieval origin which possessed a happy dénouement and a form at least partially classic. The seventeenth century developed a romanesque type with the following characteristics: dramatization with regard for only one dramatic unity -- interest; treatment of serious non-historic romanesque events; happy ending; characters generally representing aristocratic personages; occasional addition of comic passages; Alexandrine verse; divisions into acts and subdivisions into scenes.

Of the period from 1628 to 1636 there are fifty-three tragi-comedies extant. The Mémoire of Mahelot shows that they were the most popular genre at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Chapelain testifies to their popularity in an essay on drama:

La Tragicomédie n'estoit connue des Anciens que sous le nom de Tragédie d'heureuse fin, comme est l'Iphigénie à Tauris. Les Modernes François l'ont fort mise en vogue, et par les Personnes et par les Mouuemens l'ont plus fait tenir de la Tragédie que de la Comédie.³

With the Cid, tragi-comedy began to conform more to the regulations for tragedy, but as early as 1625 Mairet's Chriséide et Arimande had shown tendencies towards unity of plot, which were continued in Silvanire and Virginie, and also in Demaretz' Mirame. Psycho-

¹Art Poétique, Bk. III, vss. 169-172, quoted below in the Discours, note I, page 107.

²Discussion in this paragraph is based on material found in H. C. Lancaster, French Tragi-comedy (Baltimore, 1907).

³Published by Arnaud in the "Appendices," Les Théories dramatiques au XVII^e siècle (Paris, 1888), p. 349. The essay is found in MS 12847 of the "Fonds français" in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Arnaud dates the MS ca. 1635.

logical struggles, which were formerly considered appropriate only for tragedy, now took an important place in tragi-comedy. Finally, in 1639 appeared Sarasin's Discours de la tragédie, written in praise of a tragi-comedy. It explains that Scudéry called the play a tragi-comedy, "afin de faire voir qu'il ne s'esloigne pas de la coustume receuë; & qu'il aime mieux s'accomoder à l'vsage que de s'attacher avec trop de scrupule à la souueraine raison."¹

Sarasin carefully explains how l'Amour tyrannique follows Aristotle's precepts for tragedy, and that it should therefore be considered as belonging to the tragic genre. He realizes that a great amount of argument has been current concerning the type of drama, which seems to be tragedy, but which is characterized by happy endings. For support in applying the name "tragedy" to this special genre, he goes back to Aristotle,² although evidently not actually to the philosopher, but to such an interpreter as Castelvetro.³ In addition he cites examples from the ancients. What Sarasin especially objects to is the mingling of tragic and comic elements.⁴ In this he follows Scaliger,⁵ Heinsius,⁶ and such contemporary playwrights as Demaretz.⁷

¹Discours, p. 109, n. 3.

²Ibid., pp. 106 ff.

³He may have been following Heinsius; if so, he was misinterpreting him. Heinsius admitted that there were two types of tragedy, the one ending in disaster, and the other in happiness. However, he said only the common people preferred the latter. Aristotle had mentioned that some of the plays of Euripides ended happily, though the majority ended in disaster. Heinsius stated that his own contemporaries thought of the plays of Euripides as being of the near-comedy type, merely because this type happened to survive. Cf. De tragoediae constitutione, pp. 86-87.

⁴Discours, pp. 107-109.

⁵Poetices, Bk. III, chap. xcvi.

⁶De tragoediae constitutione, p. 201.

⁷Cf. "aux lecteurs" of Scipion, as quoted below in the Discours, p. 107, n. 2.

In the same year (1639), La Mesnardière in his Poétique¹ insists that all comic elements be omitted from tragedy. Later writers, such as d'Aubignac, Rapin, Robinet, De Visé, Le Bossu, Boileau, and Chappuzeau,² hold the same doctrine. La Mesnardière interprets the statement of Aristotle concerning the tragic outcome of a tragedy as a mere preference, not as an absolute precept. However, this is not a new interpretation. Giraldis Cintio had had the same idea in 1543, as we have pointed out above.

Corneille was one of the principal advocates of the new type of tragedy. Aristotle had mentioned four types of recognition as proper to tragedy, and of these Corneille preferred the fourth:³ a person wishes to kill a relative, whom he knows or later recognizes, but does not kill him. Such a situation would naturally provide a tragedy with a happy ending. It would involve a type of voluntary tragedy, in which the study of motifs would be the essential point.

Lorsqu'on agit à visage découvert, et qu'on sait à qui on en veut, le combat des passions contre la nature, ou du devoir contre l'amour, occupe la meilleure partie du poëme; et de là naissent les grandes et fortes émotions qui renouvellent à tous moments et redoublent la commisération.⁴

At the same time Corneille realizes that this is a new type of tragedy, which dramatizes a psychological struggle and ends happily. Yet he considers this "espèce de nouvelle tragédie plus belle que les trois qu'il [Aristotle] recommande, et qu'il leur eût sans doute préférée, s'il l'eût connue."⁵ The insistence upon the im-

¹Page 177.

²For exact references, see Bray, La Formation de la doctrine classique, p. 305, note.

³Cf. Deuxième Discours in OEuvres, ed. Marty-Laveaux, I, 64-72.

⁴Ibid., p. 70.

⁵Ibid., p. 69.

portance of the psychological struggle and the inspiration of "admiration" greatly differentiated French tragedy from the Greek.¹

Vossius in 1647² battles against the Scaligerian concept of disastrous ending for tragedy. He claims that the quality of the dénouement is not the essential difference between tragedy and comedy. The principal difference lies in the subject matter and in the characterization -- not in the final issue. However, he admits that the people as a whole prefer happy endings. D'Aubignac is practically of the same opinion. He believes that the meaning of the word "tragic" is not generally understood. It is, therefore, to be defined as "Vne chose magnifique, serieuse, grave & convenable aux agitations & aux grands revers de la fortune des Princes."³ A tragedy need not have a disastrous ending. For support of his opinion that tragedies may end happily, he too goes back to the Ancients, and finds that the greater number of the tragedies of Euripides end happily.⁴ D'Aubignac sees that seventeenth century French tragedy differs greatly from the Greek, especially in that the French have made it a rule to avoid depicting violence on the stage. In his opinion what the dramatists have really done is to take away from tragedy which ends happily its name "tragedy," and call it "tragi-comedy." He then cites Garnier's Bradamante⁵ as the first tragi-comedy. However, d'Aubignac

¹Cf. G. Lanson, Corneille (6th ed.; Paris, 1922), p. 70.

²De Artis poeticae natura ac constitutione liber (Amsterdam, 1647), Bk. II, pp. 47, 68-70.

³La Pratique du théâtre (Paris, 1657), p. 153.

⁴Ibid., pp. 183-184.

⁵Ibid., p. 189. Regarding the title, he leaves the choice to the dramatists (pp. 200-201): "Nos Poëtes adviseront s'ils le doivent laisser dans l'intelligence vulgaire, ou s'ils restabliront la Tragédie dans son estat naturel, conservant ce nom indifferement aux Poëmes Dramatiques dont les personnes sont heroïques,

objects to the term "tragi-comedy," and prefers "tragedy" even for a tragedy with a happy ending. Otherwise he thinks the audience will immediately sense the outcome, and will fail to be moved by the plight of the hero.¹ The new conception of the genre is seen in d'Aubignac's own definition: "Un Poëme Dramatique dont tout le Sujet est heroïque, & la fin heureuse, la plus noble & la plus agreable espece de Tragédie, fort commune parmy les Anciens."²

So much for the critics; but what was the practice of the day? The Quarrel of the Cid had directed attention to the characteristics of tragedy as exemplified in Corneille's play. Next, Sarasin pointed out the qualities of l'Amour tyrannique, definitely calling it a tragedy, and thereby giving later poets license to publish their new dramas as "tragedies." Corneille bravely led the way in 1640 by publishing Cinna as a "Tragédie en cinq actes." His Polyeucte is also a tragedy with a happy ending, if we consider that heavenly glory was achieved by the martyr, and faith by his relatives.

After the appearance of Polyeucte, tragedy became the leading genre in France. For the first time in fifteen years the number of tragi-comedies fell below that of tragedies. Tragi-comedy, the most popular genre from 1628 to 1642, was distinguished by two plays, the Cid and Venceslas, both of which were later known as tragedies. The tragedy with the happy dénouement was influenced by tragi-comedy, and the tragi-comedy by the rules for tragedy. As Lancaster says, "the triumph of tragedy was not assured till authors had modified it so that it might have a happy

sans distinguer si les Catastrophes sont heureuses ou funestes, afin d'empêcher que d'abord les Spectateurs ne découvrent l'événement de leurs Intrigues."

¹D'Aubignac, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

²Ibid., p. 196.

ending and stress admiration rather than awe."¹ However, of the twenty-two tragedies produced between 1640 and 1642, not including those of Corneille, only four end happily:²

1) Rotrou's Antigone,³ which was probably performed in 1640.

2) D'Aubignac's Cyminde ou les deux Victimes,⁴ which was written in prose, and performed in 1641. It is significant to note that this play was rewritten in verse under the same title in the following year, and called a tragi-comédie.⁵

3) Du Ryer's Esther,⁶ which was probably performed in 1642, and which even included comic elements.

4) Hugues de Picou's Le Déluge universel,⁷ in which no disaster befalls Noah's family, yet the play ends as they calmly watch the destruction of the rest of the world.

The distinction of genres becomes so difficult after 1642, that Lancaster discusses both tragedies and tragi-comedies of Rotrou, Du Ryer, and Tristan in the same chapter. Rotrou's Bélis-saire,⁸ called a tragi-comedy, ends unhappily; and his tragi-comedy Venceslas,⁹ is called a tragedy in the Elzévir edition of the same year. Corneille's plays of this period also reflect the mingling of the genres. Nicomède is a typical example of the new

¹French Dramatic Literature, II, 763.

²The following information is gathered from Lancaster's study, especially II, 332-371.

³Paris, 1641.

⁴Paris, 1642.

⁵Paris, 1642.

⁶Paris, 1644.

⁷Paris, 1643.

⁸Paris, 1644.

⁹Paris, 1648.

"tragedy." Andromède and Don Sanche might have been called tragi-comedies, and Pertharite is a tragedy with a happy dénouement. By example and theory¹ Corneille tried to gain acceptance for the new type of drama.

However, the attempts of the critics and of a few playwrights failed to sway public opinion. The age-old conception of the need for the differentiation of genres was too strong.

Les efforts des théoriciens et de Corneille ne pouvaient empêcher qu'on fit du dénouement le moment essentiel du drame, et que la tristesse, caractéristique du sujet tragique, ne s'étendît jusque là. La tragédie resta le poème dramatique de la tristesse, comme la comédie de la gaieté.²

Sarasin little realized that he was sounding the death knell of tragi-comedy when he so closely associated it with tragedy. The confusion of genres, the popularity of the classical drama, and the general reaction of seventeenth century taste,³ led to the general decline and final disappearance of tragi-comedy. The last one, Les Parfaits amis, was written by Chappuzeau in 1672.⁴

6. Sources and Analysis of L'Amour tyrannique

L'Amour tyrannique has a setting which existed in history; romanesque characters whose names are connected with the story of Troy or the history of Asia Minor; and a plot which is based partly on the Annals of Tacitus.

For the setting, Scudéry states that "La Scene est deuant la ville d'Amasie, capitale de la Capadoce, en l'Asie Mineur." Amasia, a town of Pontus on the Iris river in Cappadocia was the birthplace of Strabo. In his Geography⁵ he described the natural

¹Premier Discours in Oeuvres, ed. Marty-Laveaux, I, 31.

²Bray, op. cit., p. 325.

³Cf. Lancaster, French Tragi-comedy, chap. IV.

⁴Ibid., p. 151.

⁵XII, 39. Quoted below, p. 113, n. 1 (of the complete dissertation, which is on file in the University of Chicago Libraries).

rock fortifications which rise from the river below, enclosing the palaces of the kings. One glance at the frontis-piece of our play convinces us that Scudéry had Strabo's description in mind.

In choosing names for his characters, Scudéry went to Trojan legend for Polyxena, Cassandra, Hecuba, Troilus, and Ormenis; and to Plutarch for Tiridates, Tigranes, Phraartes, Pharnabazus and Euphorbus. So far as I know, Orosmane is a fictitious name, possibly derived from Orosmades, name of the sun god of the Persians.

Though Sarasin claimed that Scudéry invented "ce merueilleux sujet," Batereau¹ has discovered that the dramatist went to Tacitus for part of his plot. In the Annales² is related an incident similar to l'Amour tyrannique:

Nam Vologeses casum invadendae Armeniae obvenisse ratus.... contrahit copias fratremque Tiridaten deducere in regnum parat.....Incessu Parthorum sine acie pulsus Hiberi, urbesque Armeniorum Artaxata et Tigranocerta iugum accipere. Deinde atrox hiems seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes perpellunt Vologesen omittere praesentia. Vacuamque rursus Armeniam Radamistus invasit, truculentior quam anteaAtque illi....patientiam abruptum armisque regiam circumveniunt.

Nec aliud Radamisto subsidium fuit quam pernecitas equorum, quis seque et coniugem abstulit. Sed coniunx gravida primam utcumque fugam ob metum hostilem et mariti caritatem toleravit; post festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur, orare ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eximeretur. Ille primo amplecti adlevare adhortari, modo virtutem admirans, modo timore aeger, ne quis relicta potetur. Postremo violentia amoris et facinorum non rudis destrinxit acinacem vulneratamque ripam ad Araxis trahit, flumini tradit, ut corpus etiam auferretur: ipse praeceps Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit. Interim Zenobiam (id mulieri nomen) placida in eluvie spirantem ac vitae manifestam advertente pastores, et dignitate formae haud degenerem reputantes obligant vulnus, agrestia medicamina adhibent cognitoque nomine et casu in urbem Artaxata ferunt; unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridaten comiterque excepta cultu regio habita est.

However, Scudéry moves the setting for his plot from Artaxata on the Araxes river to Amasia on the Iris river, about five hundred

¹Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker, p. 91.

²Bk. XII, chaps. 50-51.

miles away. Like Zenobia, polyxène is rescued and conducted to the same Tiridates.

Scudéry embroidered this incident and added material from his general knowledge of romanesque literature. It is possible, as Professor Lancaster has pointed out,¹ that the poison plot was imitated from a somewhat similar episode in La Calprenède's La Mort de Mithridate,² Act V, scene 1. In the latter play another king of Pontus is mistreated and besieged by his son, who covets the throne. Like Orosmane, Mithridate always keeps poison about his person, in this case in the pommel of his sword. The son, or son-in-law, in both plays, when he sees the error of his way, is overcome by remorse. It is also possible that in the selection of his theme and the name of his heroine, Scudéry may have been influenced by François de Molière's novel La Polyxène.³ The heroine of the novel is Polyxène, the scene is in Asia Minor, and the theme concerns the misfortune caused by tyrannical love.⁴

L'Amour tyrannique is a tragi-comedy, classical in form, written in Alexandrines, divided into five acts, and subdivided into scenes. True to its genre it includes romanesque, melodramatic episodes centering about persons of nobility. As is usual with tragi-comedy, it contains examples of "stances" in lyric metre. Differing from the usual tragi-comedy, the play follows the unities of tragedy, and contains a psychological struggle. However, the plot is far from being classical in its economy, and the outer action is more important than the inner.

¹French Dramatic Literature, II, 230.

²Paris, 1637.

³Paris, 1623.

⁴Cf. La Polyxène, pp. 270, 301, 449, and 546. See a comparison of the two in my unpublished Master's thesis (University of Chicago, 1930).

In this play the Greek and Persian characters of far distant days, speaking the précieux French of the seventeenth century, are mere puppets in the hands of Scudéry. Whether for good or evil intent, they always pause to rationalize in high-flown language. All of these characters, to a greater or less degree, are drawn into an improbable situation, in which reason and tyrannical love struggle for supremacy, and in which duty to "la Nature" overcomes passion.

Tiridate is the cruel villain who would readily trample upon the white locks of his step-father, steal his brother-in-law's wife, or condemn his whole family to death. In the midst of his villainy he extemporaneously composes verses to "la raison." Tigrane is the persecuted husband, who, having stabbed his own wife to save her honor and having become a prisoner of the enemy, whiles away his time writing stanzas to "la Fortune." Pharnabase is a walking volume of "sententiae," offering advice from the ancient philosophers under all circumstances. Phraarte is the heroic captain of the guards who rescues the fair Polyxène from the branch where she has been dangling over the river, and delivers her to the cruel Tiridate. From then on he spends most of his time planning to rescue her from the tyrant. The "noblest of them all" is Orosmane, who at times resembles "le vieil Horace." Troille, brother of Polyxène, is a minor character, even though he changes the entire course of events in the play.

The characters of the women are no better drawn than those of the men. Polyxène, the beautiful wife of Tigrane, values honor more than life, and even threatens to strangle herself with her own hair, in order to avoid the advances of Tiridate. Ormène, the scorned wife of Tiridate, upon every occasion begs death, but never really has the courage to seek it. Cassandre plays the tra-

ditional rôle of messenger, in addition to that of confidante. Hecube is another confidante, a rather useless character, probably introduced only for the sake of balance.

Scudéry strives to provide a psychological struggle in the soul of Tiridate, but he scarcely convinces us of its sincerity. To Tiridate "la Raison" was a practical goddess, who at the crucial moment reminded him that it would be expedient to be remorseful, since force and wit had conquered him. Had the army of Troile come several hours later, one can hardly doubt that Tiridate would have wreaked his vengeance on his relatives. Passion would have reigned, and not Reason.

In stressing the importance of "la raison," Scudéry is following a fashion of his day. All France had been keenly aware of the part played by "la raison" in the Quarrel of the Cid. Scudéry, Chapelain, and the Academy had based their arguments on the words of Aristotle and "la souveraine raison." Descartes had just published his Discours de la Méthode in 1637. The cult of "la raison" gradually took the place of respect for "l'autorité," though Aristotle was still respected and even considered an interpreter of reason. The seventeenth century in this respect was an "époque de compromis."¹ Scudéry himself showed that "la raison" should be considered as a guide in two ways: first, to overcome passion; and second, to aid in ruling wisely.

Seventeenth century rationalists in their literary studies of sentiment naturally allowed passion to be ruled by the guidance of Reason. The theory became crystallized in Descartes' Traité des passions de l'âme, which, though completed in 1649, fully exemplified the Pre-Classical conception of both Corneille and Scu-

¹R. Bray, "L'esthétique classique, II: La Raison," Revue des Cours et Conférences, XXX² (1929), 215.

déry. Note the similarity of thought in the two authors. Scudéry's Tiridate, shown the error of his ways, cries (vs. 1821): "Ha! c'est trop, ie me rends, la raison me surmonte." Corneille's Horace in the following year, outraged by his sister's unreasonable attitude, exclaims (vs. 1319): "Ha! c'est trop, ma patience à la raison fait place." Scudéry's play of 1639 ends with the final admonishment of Orosmane:

& faisons succeder
L'allegresse commune, à la douleur publique
Et l'Amour raisonnable à L'AMOUR TIRANNIQUE.

7. Political Ideas in the Play

"La raison" was important not only to the moralists of the seventeenth century, but also to the politicians. Justus Lipsius¹ in the sixteenth century had dwelt upon the importance of "la droite raison" as a guide in the art of ruling.² Balzac, in Le Prince, 1631, pleased Richelieu by writing an entire treatise on the absolute authority and divine right of a king, who should always be guided by Reason.³ He says, "En nostre Religion la Raison & l'Equité doiuent estre les bornes de la volonté des Roys, comme les Fleuves & les Montagnes sont celles de leurs Royaumes."⁴ Richlieu, himself, devotes an entire chapter of his Testament politique⁵ to the subject: "La raison doit être la règle & la conduite d'un Etat." His advice often smacks of the

¹Les Politiques (3d ed.; Paris, 1597).

²Ibid., p. 11: "Comme le nauire vuide & delaissé est demené sur la mer par tout vent, ainsi l'entendement vague se jette en nous, pource qu'il n'est point affermy par la charge & contrepoix de la Raison."

³This treatise often foreshadows remarks of Descartes in 1637. Cf. Le Prince (nouv. éd.; Paris, 1634), p. 195.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Maximes d'Etat ou Testament politique d'Armand du Plessis (Paris, 1764), II, 6-II.

theories of Balzac and Descartes;¹ and his insistence upon the value of "la raison d'état"² makes us think that the Cardinal was an apt pupil of Machiavelli.

It is not unusual to find a political milieu depicted in drama. As M. Lanson has pointed out,³ Corneille gives all of his plays of this period a political background. Cinna depicts the struggle between rigor and clemency, monarchy and republic; Sertorius studies proper procedure during civil wars; Pompée treats one of Richelieu's favorite theories -- "la raison d'état"; Polyeucte depicts the suave administrator; Nicomède is a "tableau de la politique romaine"; Othon treats "la politique intérieure"; Pulchérie centers about the selection of an emperor.

Scudéry's interest in politics is shown in his plays and in his political treatises.⁴ Ligdamon contains a plea for unity under an absolute monarch; le Trompeur puny expresses a strong belief in monarchy; le Vassal généreux discusses the extent of a subject's loyalty to his sovereign; la Mort de César advocates patriotism; l'Amour tyrannique proclaims the absolute power and divine right of kings. Ever anxious to please Richelieu, he says

¹Testament politique, II, 7-8; "S'il est vrai que la raison doit être le flambeau qui éclaire les Princes en leur conduite & en celle de leurs Etats; est-il encore vrai que n'y ayant rien au monde qui compatisse moins avec elle que la passion qui aveugle tellement qu'elle fait quelquefois prendre l'ombre pour le corps; un Prince doit sur-tout éviter d'agir par un tel principe, qui le rendroit d'autant plus odieux, qu'il est directement contraire à celui qui distingue l'homme d'avec les animaux. On se repent souvent à loisir de ce que la passion fait faire avec précipitation."

²Balzac's Le Prince had also emphasized the theory of "raison d'état" to a startling degree. Emphasis upon obedience to the principles of Reason in the matter of politics is found throughout l'Amour tyrannique, and will be called to the reader's attention in the footnotes.

³Corneille (4th ed.; Paris, 1913), pp. 86-92.

⁴Les harangues ou discours académiques de Jean Baptiste Manzini, traduites de l'italien (Paris, 1640); Discours politiques des rois (Paris, 1647); Salomon instruisant le Roy (Paris, 1651).

in l'Amour tyrannique (vss. 153-156):

Ceux qui tiennent vn rang de puissance infinie,
Sont instruits seulement par vn diuin Genie,
Qui fait tousiours ceder au coeur d'un Potentat,
Cette raison commune, à la raison d'Etat.

These ideas, of course, were not original with Scudéry. Many of the dramatists¹ of the day were incorporating in their plays the political ideas of Richelieu.

Corneille's Cid stressed the importance of absolutism, even though Sorel thought that Richelieu preferred l'Amour tyrannique to the Cid, because the latter contained "quelques paroles qui choquoient les grands Ministres."² Lancaster notes that both the Cid and l'Amour tyrannique contain the same ideas concerning absolute power.³ However, Scudéry's play departed from the beaten path by emphasizing a new note in drama -- the theory of the divine right of kings. In his Observations sur le Cid, Scudéry had said of Corneille, "Il devoit traiter avec plus de respect la personne des Roys que l'on nous apprend estre sacrée."⁴ Therefore, in l'Amour tyrannique he loses no opportunity to impress upon his

¹Monarchical and republican forms of government are discussed briefly in Du Teil, L'Injustice punie (Paris, 1641). The political life of Richelieu is defended in Desmaretz, Europe (Paris, 1643). Patriotism is expressed to some extent in Rotrou, Iphigénie (Paris, 1641); La Serre, Le Sac de Carthage (Paris, 1642); Du Ryer, Saül (Paris, 1642); Du Ryer, Esther (Paris, 1644); D'Aubignac, La Pucelle d'Orléans (Paris, 1642). Patriotism forms one of the leading themes in the following: Du Ryer, Scévole (Paris, 1647); Du Ryer, Thémistocle (Paris, 1648); Tristan, Mort de Sénèque (Paris, 1645); Rotrou, Cosroës (Paris, 1649).

²Sorel, La Bibliothèque françoise, pp. 361-362.

³French Dramatic Literature, II, 121. To see the importance of the emphasis on this theory in the two plays in comparison to that found in other plays by the same authors, note how often it is expressed: three times in la Mort de César (vss. 287-292, 510, 520); six times in the Cid (vss. 164, 354, 370, 387, 606, 1804); seven times in l'Amour tyrannique (vss. 95, 153, 188, 884, 891, 1088, 1092); twice in Horace (vss. 845, 1470); once in Cinna (vs. 1187).

⁴Gasté, Querelle du Cid, p. 93.

countrymen the sacredness of royalty and its divine origin. The theory is expressed once in la Mort de César (vs. 899); not at all in le Prince déguisé; six times in l'Amour tyrannique (vss. 95, 154, 162, 436, 886, 897-900); not at all in the Cid, nor in Cinna; but three times in Horace (vss. 846, 1469, 1479); three times in Du Ryer's Alcionée (vss. 155, 579, 1426); and not at all in Saül. It will be noted that these representative plays in which the theory of divine right is stressed, were produced in 1638 or later.¹ Therefore Scudéry's political theories may have been influenced by his own criticism of Corneille's lack of respect for the "sacred" person of the king in the Cid. It is also possible that Scudéry himself was influenced by the furor that attended the appearance of a radical essay against divine right.

In 1638, Heinsius published at Leyden with his own works a school-boy essay of L. G. de Balzac,² which was radically opposed to absolute power and to the divine right of kings, and which advocated rebellion against tyrannical rulers.³ Naturally

¹There is some question concerning the date of Alcionée. See the critical edition by H. C. Lancaster (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 11 f.

²Discours Politique sur l'Estat des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas, Par J. L. D. B., Gentilhomme François (Leyden, 1638). This has been reprinted by G. Cohen in Ecrivains français en Hollande (Paris, 1920).

³Cohen, op. cit., pp. 713-714: "Les Provinces du Pays-Bas qui ont échappé des mains du Roy d'Espagne, pour les avoir voulu trop serrer doivent leur liberté à l'extrémité de leur servitude, jouissent de la paix, pour avoir esté contraintes à la guerre, font une belle leçon à tous les Souverains, de ce qu'ilz doivent envers leurs peuples et donnent un exemple memorable à tous peuples de ce qu'ilz peuvent contre leurs Souverains. Elles ont la justice de leur costé, puisqu'elles ont eu la nécessité.

"Elles méritent d'avoir Dieu seul pour Roy, puisqu'elles n'ont peu endurer un Roy pour Dieu et de ne relever que de sa puissance, puisqu'elles ont combattu pour sa seule querelle. Celui qui estoit leur maistre, estant devenu leur ennemi, a perdu les droits qu'il avoit sur elles, ayant violé ceux que Dieux a sur lui. Voulant traiter ses sujets en bestes, il les a contraints de se souvenir qu'ilz estoient hommes.....il les a obligés à recourir au droit de

the courtier of 1638 was not pleased to see "cette invitation à la revolution. L'antithèse qui suit ne lui devait pas être plus agréable, car elle heurtait de front la thèse du droit divin."¹

The essay naturally caused great embarrassment to Balzac and his friends. For years Richelieu had been coping with rebellious subjects, using first the method of the lion and then that of the wolf in striving to build up an absolute monarchy. One of his principal means had been to insinuate gradually into the minds of the people the belief in the divine origin of their king.² This belief was based on Biblical history, the interpretation of the Cortegiano, and the "sun king" theory of Spain. After Richelieu had carefully built up the popular belief, there appeared this radical essay, which struck at the very foundations of the prized structure. Balzac, himself, was quite angry, for the essay refuted just the ideas he himself had expressed in le Prince.

On July 25, 1638, Chapelain wrote to Balzac:

Je vous envoie la copie du petit escrit qu'Heinsius a fait imprimer en Hollande pour vous faire tort. Il y a quelques lieux, ou que l'on vous y a supposés, ou que je vous conseille de désavouer, quand ils vous seroient échappés durant le temps que vous viviés avec ces relligionnaires. Nos crabrons vous mettroient avec quelque sujet au nombre des censurables.³

Balzac replied that he had written the discourse when a mere boy, "sans dessein de le rendre public par l'impression, et dans la

nature par l'acquisition de leur liberté. Point de merveilles donc, s'il a perdu le Pays duquel il a voulu perdre le peuple, si ceux qu'il a violentés en leur foy se sont oubliés de leur fide-
lité....Ce pauvre peuple alors, ne trouvant point de milieu pour se sauver, fust contraint de chercher sa seurte dans les perilz de la guerre....pour rendre les derniers devoirs à la Nature et faire un effort aux abbois de sa liberté...." (The italics are those of Balzac.)

¹Cohen, op. cit., p. 272.

²Cf. d'Avenel, le vicomte, Richelieu et la Monarchie absolue (2d ed.; Paris, 1895), I, 203-204.

³Lettres de Chapelain, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1880), I, 276.

chaleur d'un âge qui excuse bien de plus grandes fautes."¹

He and Chapelain waited anxiously to see what course Richelieu would take. Chapelain counseled Balzac to deny absolutely that he had written the little treatise.² However, time passed and nothing was heard from the Cardinal. Evidently Richelieu was following wisdom in overlooking the outburst of a mere boy, published twenty-five years later when the author had already proved his orthodoxy in le Prince.

In the meantime, we may feel assured that Scudéry with his keen interest in all things political and in anything published by Heinsius, had read the treatise. The special emphasis which he then places on the theory of divine right in l'Amour tyrannique may be due to the fact that he was trying to make the public overlook the Balzac essay. Scudéry was ever ready to come to the defense of his friends, as in the cases of Théophile,³ the Duchesse de Longueville,⁴ and the Comte de la Gardie.⁵ At the same time he would be applying the Cardinal's own salve to the wound. Scudéry, the flatterer, would ingratiate himself with Richelieu. Regardless of the effect of the publication in 1638 of this essay upon our author, the fact remains that a political theory, new to drama, suddenly took an important place in a play in 1639.

8. Production and Publication

Corneille, angered by criticism of the Cid, which had pleased both the "doctes" and the "vulgaire," had asked Scudéry:

¹Oeuvres de Balzac (Paris, 1655), I, 766.

²Letter of August 8, 1638. Cf. Lettres de Chapelain, I, 280.

³Cf. Batereau, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴Ibid., pp. 23 f.

⁵Ibid., p. 23.

"Ne vous estes-vous souvenu que le Cid a esté représenté trois fois au Louvre, et deux fois à l'Hostel de Richelieu?"¹ Not to be outdone, Scudéry, with great satisfaction, in the dedication of l'Amour tyrannique, reminds the duchesse d'Aiguillon of the popularity of his play:

Car apres la gloire qu'il a eu, d'estre représenté quatre fois deuant Monseigneur, & deuant vous; apres l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait, de vouloir auoir ce Poëme en manuscrit dans son cabinet; & apres le rang que vous luy avez donné tout haut, parmy ceux de cette nature; ma plus ardante ambition est tellement assouuie, qu'elle ne trouue rien à desirer.

The play was probably first performed in 1638. At least we know that it was presented before January 15, 1639, for Chapelain mentions it to Balzac in a letter of that date: "Scudéry a fait un Amour tyrannique qui fait grand bruit, quoiqu'il y ait dans la constitution et invention de notables défauts."²

We also know that Jacqueline Pascal, the sister of Blaise Pascal, played the part of Cassandre in a presentation of the play before the Cardinal in April, 1639.³ In a letter to her father, she wrote: "Monsieur mon père, le 4 avril 1639, le lendemain de la représentation de l'Amour tyrannique devant M. le Cardinal...."⁴ Jacqueline performed her twenty-five lines so well that the Cardinal released her father from exile.

When the edition which contains both the play and the preface appeared July 2, 1639, Chapelain was especially interested. The critical preface by Sarasin discussed Aristotle, "la raison,"

¹Lettre apologitique du Sieur Corneille (Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 148).

²Lettres de Chapelain, I, 367.

³Scudéry later addressed an epigram to her, in which he said: "Vous enflamez tout le Monde Et du feu de vos yeux, et du feu de vos Vers" ("Epigramme à Mlle de Pascal, représentant Cassandre dans une Tragédie de l'Auteur," in Poésies diverses [Paris, 1649], p. 320).

⁴Livet, Précieux et Précieuses, pp. 231-232.

and the unities -- all subjects dear to the heart of the author of the Sentimens. In a letter of July 11, he wrote to Balzac

Cet Amour tyrannique a fait un estrange bruit, ce carnaval, à la Cour et à Paris. J'en attens vostre jugement et ce que vous pensés des remarques panegyriques de Sarazin qui a entrepris son éloge plustost que sa défense.....[Postscript] Vous aurés cet Amour tyrannique par le messager à qui j'ay donné charge qu'on le porte plustost qu'à la poste, à cause du port.¹

During the winter and spring of 1639, people were evidently more interested in seeing the play performed than in reading it. Chapelain wrote Balzac about it in January, but did not send him a copy of the printed play until July. An edition containing a considerable number of errors had appeared in February, but the attention of the public was drawn rather to the July edition which contained the eulogistic preface.

There exist three separate editions of l'Amour tyrannique, and a reprint of the third edition, all of which appeared during the lifetime of the author. In addition there is a seventeenth century manuscript copy. The play is also included in two eighteenth century collections. These editions, which I shall call N, R, L (reprint: O), M, T, and S, respectively, are described as follows:²

- N L'AMOUR TIRANNIQUE, TRAGI-COMEDIE. Par Monsieur DE SCUDERY. A PARIS, Chez AVGVSTIN COVRBE', Imprimeur & Libraire de Monseigneur Frere du Roy, dans la petite Salle du Palais, à la Palme. M. DC. XXXX. Avec Priuilege de sa Majesté.
Quarto.
118 pages, wrongly numbered 110.
Frontis-piece engraved by Daret from a design by Charles Le Brun; title-page; dedication to Mme la Duchesse d'Aiguillon; list of "les acteurs."

¹Lettres de Chapelain, I, 454.

²Based on information given by G. Mongrédien, "Bibliographie des oeuvres de Georges et de Madeleine de Scudéry," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, XL (1933), 231-233, with the exception of T, which he does not include. N, which he designates as the third edition, is in my opinion the first. Discussion of this question will be found in the following pages.

Privilege given to Courbé for seven years, February 23, 1639; achevé d'imprimer, February 2, 1639.¹

- R L'AMOUR TIRANNIQUE, TRAGI-COMEDIE. PAR MONSIEUR DE SCUDERY. A PARIS, Chez Avgvstin Covrbé, Imprimeur & Libraire de Monsieur Frere du Roy, dans la petite Sale du Palais, à la Palme. M. DC. XXXIX. AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Quarto.

xxiii pages; 118 pages, wrongly numbered 110.

Frontis-piece engraved by Daret from a design by Charles Le Brun; title-page; dedication to Mme la Duchesse d'Aiguillon; title-page of the Discours de la tragédie ou Remarques sur l'Amour tirannique by Sillac d'Arbois (Sarasin); dedication to "Messieurs de l'Académie Française."

Pp. 1-23, Discours....

Pp. 1-110, l'Amour tyrannique (in reality 118 pages).

Privilege granted to Courbé for seven years, May 10, 1639; achevé d'imprimer, July 2, 1639.²

- L L'AMOUR TIRANNIQUE, TRAGI-COMEDIE. PAR M^r DE SCUDERY. A PARIS, Chez AVGVSTIN COVRBE, Imprimeur et Libraire de Monseigneur Frere du Roy, dans la petite Salle du Palais, à la Palme. M. DC. XXXIX. Avec privilege du Roy.

Duodecimo.

120 pages.

Frontis-piece engraved by Daret; title-page; dedication to Mme la Duchesse d'Aiguillon; list of "les acteurs." Privilege May 10, 1639; achevé d'imprimer, July 15, 1639.³

- O THEATRE FRANÇOIS DES SIEVRS DE SCUDERY. TRISTAN. DESMARETS. et autres. A Paris, Chez AVGVSTIN COVRBE, dans la petite

¹Copies of N are in the Bib. Nat., Yf544. Rés., 349, 548, 585, 1620; Bib. Ars., B.L.9750, III, 5^e pièce; Bib. Maz. 1091813; Bib. de la Sorb., Rra 294; Bib. de l'Institut, Q560, Tome VII; Nat. Bibl. Berlin; Harvard University Library 38546.22.15; and one owned by Professor William A. Nitze of the University of Chicago.

²Correct detailed description of R is given by Beauchamps, Recherches sur les théâtres de France (Paris, 1735), II, 102. An incomplete description, but evidently of the same edition, is found in Le Duc de la Vallière, Bibliothèque du Théâtre François depuis son Origine (Dresden, 1768), II, 112. Copies of R are found in the Bib. Nat., Réserve Yf2874; Bib. Ars., B.L. 9750, V, 2^e pièce; British Museum, 164. e64; Harvard University Library, 38546.22.12.

³A copy of L is in the Bib. Nat., Yf 4860. It is bound with four other plays in a single volume, bearing a MS title-page, "Recueil de pieces de Théâtre," and a MS table of contents as follows:

L'Hospital des fous.....Beis
L'amour tirannique.....Scudery
Artmetzart.....Chapuzeau
Alcionée.....du Rier
Les charmes de felicien.....Montauban.

Sale du Palais, à la Palme. M. DC. XLVIII. Avec privilège du Roy.

Duodecimo.

The second play is l'Amour tyrannique, a reprint of L.¹

M L'Amour tirannique, Tragi-Comedie par Monsieur de Scudery, an unsigned seventeenth century manuscript copy. (Bib. Nat. fonds français 2384). List of "les acteurs."

T THEATRE FRANÇOIS, ou RECUEIL DES MEILLEURES PIECES de Théâtre. TOME VII. A PARIS, Chez P. Gandouin, Nyon pere, Valleyre, Huart, Nyon fils, Clousier, De Poilly. M. DCC. XXXVII. Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roy.

Duodecimo.

Pages 501-624, l'Amour tyrannique.

List of "les acteurs."²

S RECUEIL DES MEILLEURES PIECES DRAMATIQUES FAITES EN FRANCE DEPUIS ROTROU JUSQU'A NOS JOURS OU THEATRE FRANÇOIS TRAGEDIES. TOME SIXIEME A LYON, Chez JOSEPH-GRABIN, Libraire grande rue Mercière, M. DCC. LXXX. AVEC APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

Octavo.

Pages 1-112, L'AMOUR TYRANNIQUE, TRAGEDIE.³

"Acteurs."

R, the best of the seventeenth century texts, and the only one containing the Discours de la Tragédie by Sarasin, has been selected as a basis for the present edition. It must have been considered correct by the author, for the copy which is here reproduced is an autographed one presented to Mlle de Rambouillet.⁴

¹Copies of O are in the Bib. Nat., Rés. Yf3458; Bib. Ars., Collection Rondel.

²There is a copy of T in the University of Chicago Library, PQ1220.T4; another in the British Museum, 640e4-15.

³Copies of S are in the Bib. Nat., Yf5193; Bib. Ars., Collection Douay, octavo 5167; Bib. de la Sorb., Lfd 12.

⁴Bib. Nat., Réserve Yf 2874. On the fly-leaf is: "Pour Mlle de Rambouillet par son tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur De Scudery." Mme de Rambouillet had two daughters, Angélique and Julie d'Angennes. This play was evidently presented to Julie, since she was one of the outstanding women in her mother's salon, which Scudéry frequented, and was also an intimate friend of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, to whom the play is dedicated. Scudéry was one of the poets who composed madrigals for la Guirlande de Julie, written in 1641 for Julie d'Angennes. Cf. Victor Cousin, La Société française au XVII^e Siècle, (Paris, 1905), I, 270, 273; II, 37. Julie de Rambouillet is represented by "Philonide" in Mlle de Scudéry's Le Grand Cyrus, Tome VII, Bk. I.

N contains a number of conspicuous printer's errors which have been corrected in R. The pages in both N and R are wrongly numbered. The numbers of pages 49 through 56 are repeated, thereby making the total number of pages 118 instead of 110.¹

N, R, and L all contain the Daret frontis-piece. L follows the readings of R, with the exception of changes in punctuation, spelling, and some printer's errors. In L, from the beginning of Act II through line 544, the pages were left blank by the printer, and were later filled in by hand. However, the complete text of this edition is found printed in O.

M, the manuscript copy, is of little value. I have compared the handwriting of Scudéry with that found in M, and am convinced that Scudéry did not write the manuscript. The orthography, however, is of the seventeenth century. Lines 1869 to 1904, which are found in all the other versions, are missing in the manuscript copy. Perhaps this manuscript belonged to some actor who took part in the play before printed versions were available. In staging the play the missing lines could have been easily omitted, thereby shortening the lengthy dénouement.

T, with slightly more modern spelling, seems to follow N more closely than R, containing three absurd readings of N which are corrected in R, correcting N three times, and changing it eight times. These variants are reproduced in the notes of the present edition. The stage directions, which are printed in the margins of the texts of N and R, are sometimes changed and sometimes omitted in T.²

¹The printer who set up the type for R corrected the page number 67, which was reversed in N, but failed to notice that the numbering on eight pages was repeated.

²T is the first edition of l'Amour tyrannique in which the rule is observed that a new scene must begin each time a character exits or enters.

S follows the text of T. It is interesting to note that in S the title of the play is l'Amour tyrannique, Tragédie. Was the editor of S influenced by Sarasin, who in his Discours de la Tragédie calls this play a tragedy rather than a tragi-comedy?

In addition to the editions which have been located, Brunet (Manuel du Libraire, V, 249) mentions a duodecimo edition of 1643 and a quarto of 1645. However, these two editions are now apparently lost.¹

In calling N the first edition and not the third, I disagree with Mongrédien. I am convinced that N preceded R for the following reasons:

1) N contains a number of printer's errors which were so conspicuous that a second edition with an entirely different set-up, though in the same quarto size, was necessary. R corrects N in thirteen instances.

2) The dates of N, which at first seem peculiar, are perfectly possible. The privilège antedates that of R. An examination of the text of the privilège will make it quite clear that when a long preface, like that of Sarasin, was added, a new privilège would be needed.

N and R are both published by Courbé, both quarto size, but the set-ups for the print are entirely different -- in spelling, in position of lines on the page, in the use of different sized type, in the use of varied vignettes.² There are thirteen conspicuous printer's errors in N which have been corrected in R.

¹Mongrédien, RHL, XL (1933), 232-233, also mentions five editions of the Dutch translation by Jan Hermans Krul in 1647, 1663, 1671, 1701, 1746.

²In N at the bottom of the page containing the list of actors is the word "L'AMOVVR," which is missing in R. In R the quaternion begins with the first scene. In the lower right corner is the signature "A," not found in N.

Surely if Courbé intended to produce another quarto edition after R, he would have used the same correct set-up, instead of a new one containing obvious misprints. This seems ample proof that N preceded R. To be certain that these errors occur in a representative number of copies of the edition N, five separate copies have been examined: one owned by Professor Nitze of the University of Chicago, and four in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Yf544, Yf546, Yf349, Yf16220). The following is the list of errors found in these copies of N, with the corrections made in R:

- 1) Page 1:
N SCENNE PREMIERE
R SCENE
- 2) Page 4, verse 54:
N Repoussa cet affront par vn sanglant ouurage.
R outrage.
- 3) Page 6, verse 89:
N Il se doit souuenir de vostre amour extrém.
R extreme.
- 4) Page 11, verse 182:
N Le vaincu pour tromper le vainqueur qui s'y fie.
R peut
- 5) Page 19, verse 319:
N O Dieux! en quel estat me trouray-ie en ce iour?
R trouuay-ie
- 6) Page 25, verse 392:
N Si suis-ie vostre espoux, si suis-ie vostre Roy.
This line is repeated on page 26 in N, but not in R.
- 7) Page 30, verse 462:
N Seroit les seuls obiets qu'aura nostre memoire.
R Seront
- 8) Page 55, verse 888:
N Celuy qui fuit un joug, ne le doit pas porter.
R fait
- 9) Page 62, verse 1141:
N Ta foiblesse, resueur, est sans comparaisons.
R comparaison.
- 10) Page 64, verse 1178:
N Je veux trancer encor, la trame de mes iours.
R trancher
- 11) Page 67:
Page number in N is reversed.
Corrected in R.

12) Page 75, verse 1358:

N Et ie t'aimeray moins.....
 Dans les bras du Tiran, que de ceux de la mort.
R dans

13) Page 88, verse 1546:

N Ie souffre la foiblesse en des armes vulgaires.
R ames

The title-page of N gives the date as 1640, though the privilège and achevé are of 1639. In the first place, the printer may have merely omitted the "I" before the last "X" in "XXXIX." In the second place, it was not extraordinary to see the achevé of one year and the title-page of another. For example, le Prince déguisé has privilège and achevé of 1635, but title-page of 1636; the Autres OEuvres de Monsieur de Scudéry has privilège and achevé of 1636, but title-page of 1637. Both of these were printed by Courbé.

The privilège of N reads: "le vingt-troisiesme de Feburier, l'an de grace mil six cens trente-neuf, et de nostre regne le vingt-neufiesme." R bears the date 1639 but with the year of the reign as the "vingt-huictiesme." Other texts seem to indicate that this matter of the year of the reign was very uncertain. For example, in one copy of a volume of Scudéry's works which contains N (Bib. Nat. Rés. Yf349), we find other works with the following dates:

L'Amant libéral, title-page 1638, privilège - 23 fév. 1638 "et de nostre regne le vingt-huictiesme." (Achévé - 30 avril 1638)

Autres OEuvres de Monsieur de Scudéry, title-page 1637, privilège - 14 juin 1636, "Et de nostre regne le vingt-septiesme." (Achévé - 15 juillet 1636)

A "demande de privilège" in the Collection Anisson (XI, fol. 72), apparently authentic since it bears a signature, is dated "Donné à Paris le 4 iour d'Avril 1640, & de nostre regne le trentiesme." Since Louis XIII began his reign in 1610, it would seem that the last date mentioned is correct. In that case "de nostre regne le

vingt-neufiesme" of N would be correct also.

The next date to be considered is that of the achevé d'imprimer, which is "le 2 iour de Feburier 1639," just twenty-one days earlier than the date of the privilège: "le vingt-troisiesme de Feburier 1639." As Professor Lancaster says in his study of the play,¹ the printing may have been allowed before the privilège was actually granted because of the great interest which Richelieu took in this tragi-comedy. These copies left the press five months before those of R. Mongrédien thinks that the achevé should read 1640.² He fails to see that two privilèges existed. An examination of this extract from the privilège will show that a new one was absolutely necessary for the copy with the long preface:

& faisons tres-expresses defences à toutes personnes de quelque qualité & condition qu'elles soient, de l'imprimer, faire imprimer, vendre ny distribuer en aucun endroit de ce Royaume durant ledit temps, soubs pretexte d'augmentacion, correction, changement de tiltre, ou autrement, en quelque sorte, & maniere que se soit, à peine de quinze cens liures d'amende.³

As stated before, although N is the first edition, R has been selected as a basis for the present text since it is the best and the only one containing the preface. In making this edition, I have carefully kept the spelling found in R, with only one change: the omission of the long "s." Readers will note that there is absolutely no consistency in spelling.⁴ The punctuation and capitalization have not been changed.

¹French Dramatic Literature, II, 229, n. 10.

²RHL, XL (1933), 232, item 22.

³Cf. the entire Privilège, reproduced with the text.

⁴In reproducing the text I have corrected certain obvious misprints: putting Et for E in vs. 701; a for à in vss. 723, 759, 920, 936, 951, 957, 958, 963, 999, 1426, and 1624; semblent for semble in vs. 593; naistre for n'aistre in vs. 615; qu'elle for quelle in vss. 766, 1362; inserting de in vs. 918; ma for m'a in vs. 1347; constamment for constamment in vs. 1487; m'a for ma in vss. 878, 1491, 1777, 1883; demande for demande in vs. 1563; l'a for la in vs. 1747; Raison for raison in vs. 1834.

